Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals
Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART EIGHT

1835

Cre: January 17.—The printing of 1,000 copies of Isaac McCoy's 52-page The Annual Register of Indian Affairs Within the Indian (or Western) Territory . . . January 1, 1835, was completed at Shawnee Baptist Mission, by Jotham Meeker. (McCoy had turned over his manuscripts to Meeker on December 15, 1834, and the printer had started typesetting the next day.)

In this pamphlet McCoy described the state of civilization of each of the native and emigrant tribes of "Kansas"; listed the names of leading chiefs, of government employees (interpreters, blacksmiths, etc.), and of missionaries; also he gave some information about each mission. In format, and content, this first (of four) Annual Registers set the pattern for succeeding issues. (See December 9, 1835, annals, for item on the second issue.)

A change among the Kansa—a move westward by part of the nation (apparently some of Hard Chief's band) to be nearer the buffalo country—was recorded by McCoy. He located this group (about a third of the Kansa) on the north bank of the river "about 40 miles from their eastern boundary" [in present Pottawatomie county—roughly between St. George and Wamego]. He placed the rest of the Kansa in two locations: (1) about a third on the Kansas river's north bank within three miles of the Kansa eastern boundary [Fool Chief's village]; and (2) the other third a few miles higher up, on the south bank [American Chief's and Hard Chief's towns]. (These were the approximate sites of the villages of 1829—see pp. 58, 59.)

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary" (for printing information). In a March 5, 1834, letter, Missionary Wells Bushnell had written: "The Konzas, since last summer, have burnt their old villages[?] & moved 8[?] miles further up the river, & are building new ones." Though inaccurate, Bushnell's statement may indicate the time (autumn of 1833?) when the removal began. (His letter is in Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence—microfilm, Kansas State Historical Society [KHi].)

Cre: Born: at Shawnee Baptist Mission (present Johnson county), on January 21, Elizabeth Simerwell, daughter (and fourth child) of Missionaries Robert and Fanny (Goodridge) Simerwell.

(On March 1, 1866, she married John S. Carter. They resided near Auburn, Shawnee county, and had six children living at the time of her death, January 3, 1883.)

Ref: Meeker's "Diary"; Kansas Historical Collections, v. 8, p. 260 (where the birth date is given, erroneously, as January 24); and Topeka Commonwealth, February 24, 1883 (in KHi "Scrapbook," v. 8, p. 46), which also gives the date as January 24.

Cre: February 2.—In Washington, Rep. William H. Ashley, of Missouri, presented to the house a petition, signed by 33 eastern "Kan-

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sas” and western Missouri residents (and forwarded by Isaac McCoy), asking “that a mail route be established from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Towson [on the Red river], on which the mail shall be transported weekly on horseback.” The route outlined in the petition (dated November, 1834) is summarized here:

From Fort Leavenworth,* through the “Delaware Settlements”:
To West Port *(on the west line of Missouri; near the Shawnee Agency)

“"Wea Smittyery and Mission House” (10 miles \textit{west} of the Missouri line) ........................................... about 35
“Harmony Mission (15 miles \textit{east} of the Missouri line) .......................................................... 40
“"The Osage Village (five miles \textit{east} of the Osage Agency; and 30 miles \textit{west} of Missouri) ........................................... 50
“""Requa’s Osage Settlement” (within the Cherokee country, southwest of the Senecas & Shawnees of Neosho; and 30 miles \textit{west} of Arkansas territory) ........................................... 70
“"The west bank of Neosho (Grand) river at (Auguste P.) Chouteau’s crossing ........................................... 80
“"Union Mission House” ........................................... 80
“"The late “Agency of the Creek Indians on Virdigris River” ........................................... 4
“"Fort Gibson * (50 miles \textit{west} of Arkansas territory) Thence, passing the Cherokee Agency (on the \textit{north} side of Arkansas river) ........................................... 22
“"Choctaw Agency (on the \textit{south} side of the Arkansas, within the Choctaw Nation) ........................................... 65
“"Fort Smith * (on the western line of Arkansas territory) ........................................... 7
“"Fort Towson * (20 miles \textit{west} of Arkansas territory) ........................................... 120

*(At these five locations there were post offices.)

The 33 signatures on the petition (original in the National Archives; photograph in KHI) present an interesting collection of autographs. The names:

H[enry] Dodge Col. U S Dragoons
Matthew Duncan Capt.
U. S. Dragoons
J[ames] W. Hamilton 1st. Lt.
& Adjt. Dragoons
Dragoons
A. B. Duncan of Clay County
A[braham] Ury Lt. Dragoons
Benj. F. Fellowes Asst Surgeon
Isaac McCoy of Jackson Co. Mo.
James P. Hickman of Jackson Co. Mo.

Agent for Shawnees & others
George B Clark [son of M. G. Clark]
Richd W Cummins U. S. Ind
Agent for Delawares, Kickapoo, & Kanzas Indians
William Johnson Missionary to Shawnees
Asa Jones Farmer at Shawnee Mission
Jotham Meeker, Printer, Ind. Ter.
Robert Simerwell Missionary to Potawatomie
I[ra] D Blanchard [missionary to] Delawares
Anthony L. Davis  Emgt. Agt
Potawatomies
Johnston Lykins  Supt. Ind schools
&c., Indian Territory
Joseph Kerr  Missionary to Weas
& Piankeshaws
Henry Bradley  Missionary to Weas
& Piankeshaws
Elisha Shepard  missionary to Weas
& Piankeshaws
Robert Johnson  Westport

Joseph Russell  Westport
Thomas W. Polke  West Port
Missouri
Lemuel Ford  Capt U S Dragoons
L[ancaster] P Lupton  1st. Lieut
Dragoons
G[aines] P Kingsbury  Lt Dragoons
Jno L Watson  Lt Dragoons
C B Lykins
Thos J. Givens of Washington Co
Mo  [son-in-law of Isaac McCoy]

(On December 16 Representative Ashley again presented the petition to the
house, where it was referred to the post office and post roads committee.  See,
also, January 5, 1836, entry.)

Ref: Isaac McCoy’s letter of December 29, 1834 (in McCoy “Manuscripts,” v. 22,
KHI ms. division); W. H. Ashley letter of January 30, 1833 (in ibid.); the petition (among
the records of the United States House of Representatives in the National Archives).

¶ February 24.—Jotham Meeker (at Shawnee Baptist Mission,
present Johnson county) printed the first number of the Shawano Sun.  (He had,
on the 18th, started “setting types” for this small
“newspaper.”)  The Siwunowes Kesibwi (Shawnee Sun) was “the
first periodical publication to be printed in what is now Kansas”
(McMurtrie); and “the first newspaper ever published exclusively
in an Indian language” (McCoy).  Dr. Johnston Lykins was the
Sun’s editor.

From 1835 up to as late as May, 1842, this publication was issued at irregular
intervals, and presumably in small editions.  Accompanying Douglas C.
McMurtrie’s article “The Shawnee Sun,” in The Kansas Historical Quarterly,
v. 2, pp. 339-342, is an illustration of the first page of a November, 1841, issue
of the Siwunowes Kesibwi.  It was photographed from the only known extant
copy of this publication—a copy then (1933) in private hands, and now in the
Snyder collection of the University of Kansas City library.

Ref: Meeker “Diary”; Isaac McCoy’s History of Baptist Indian Missions (1840), p. 486;
letter by Kenneth J. LaBudde (director of libraries, University of Kansas City, Kansas City,
Mo.), June 8, 1962, to L. Barry; D. C. McMurtrie’s and A. H. Allen’s Jotham Meeker
... (Chicago, 1930), p. 159.

¶ In a February 26 report (based on incomplete returns), Comm’r
Elbert Herring listed Indian agents, subagents, and other field employees
hired subsequent to the Indian department reorganization
act of June 30, 1834.  In “Kansas” these employees were:

Richard W. Cummins, agent, Northern Agency, Western Territory; Marston G. Clark, subagent for the Ottawas, Shawnees, etc. (but see Clark’s resignation, p. 500); Paul Ligueste Chouteau, subagent for the Osages; interpreters Joseph James (for the Kansa), James Conner (for the Delawares), Peter Cudjoe (“Cadue” in later lists) (for the Kickapoos), Baptiste Mongrain (for the Osages), Henry Clay (for the Ottawas and Shawnees); blacksmiths Robert
Dunlap (for the Delawares), James McGill (for the Kansa); teachers Henry Rennick (for the Delawares), J. C. Berryman (for the Kickapoos).

Ref: 23d Cong., 2d Sess., H. Doc. No. 181 (Serial 275). Some errors in the printed list have been corrected; also some data have been added above, to link names correctly with tribes, etc.

Early in the year Marston G. Clark resigned as subagent "for the Shawanees, Ottawas and other emigrant tribes, including the Kickapoos, the Weas and Piankeshaws, the Kaskaskias and Peorias"—a post he had held since the closing of the Kansa Agency, August 15, 1834. His resignation was accepted effective March 31.

Comm'r Elbert Herring, in a March 20 letter, wrote Isaac McCoy that "The Secretary of War has determined not to fill that Sub Agency, but to attach it to some other agency." (Until 1837 Agent R. W. Cummins had the added responsibilities.)

Clark (a "Kansas" resident since May, 1829—see p. 52), returned to his Salem, Ind., home and was elected to the state legislature in August. (He had been an Indiana state senator, and a representative from Washington county, prior to his appointment to the Indian service.)

Ref: Office of Indian Affairs records (OIA) in the National Archives, Records Group No. 75; McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 22 (for Herring letter); Indiana Historical Collections, Indianapolis, v. 24, p. 134, v. 40, pp. 187, 189, 198, 226; William H. English's Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio 1778-1783 . . . (Indianapolis and Kansas City, Mo., 1896), v. 1, p. 34, v. 2, pp. 866, 978. When Clark first came to "Kansas" he was subagent to the Kansa; by a July 12, 1832, appointment he became Kansa agent.

By April 18 German botanist Charles A. Geyer was on the "western borders of the state of Missouri," preparing for a botanical tour beyond the frontier. He later described this trip (made with only one companion) as a "journey to the Pawnee-loups Indians on the Big Nemahaw[?] and lower North Fork of the Platte river." (If his point of departure was Independence, Mo., as seems likely, or Liberty, he presumably crossed present northeast Kansas to reach the Big Nemaha country.)

The tour "turned out abortive on account of fever and maltreatment by a party of Indians." Geyer was barely able to make it back to the Missouri border, where he spent a long time recuperating. About September 9 he embarked "from the mouth of the Kansas river," on an American Fur Company steamboat bound for St. Louis. He met, on board, French scientist and explorer Joseph N. Niccollet, and Scottish traveler Charles A. Murray.


Robert Campbell (partner of William Sublette) and a small party (including Andrew Sublette?) probably crossed "Kansas" by way of "Sublette's Trace" in the latter part of April. Campbell had left St. Louis on April 9, bound for "Fort Laramie" to transfer his and Sublette's property at that post to the fur company formed the pre-
ceding summer—the merger of Fontenelle & Drips with Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette, and Bridger—to which they had sold out. He remained some 15 days at Laramie river.

On the return journey, in June and July, Campbell made successful use of boats on the North Platte and Platte to transport his buffalo robes down to Missouri; but also had a land party (which included Andrew Sublette) with fur-laden pack mules, which followed down the Platte’s north bank.

At the forks of the Platte Campbell was able to avoid trouble with the hostile Arickaras then located there. On June 27 his party met the west-bound American Fur Company expedition headed by Lucien Fontenelle (see May 14 entry). Of this encounter Dr. Marcus Whitman wrote: “met Messrs Campbell & Sublit returning from the mountains with twelve men”; and the Rev. Samuel Parker noted: “met Messrs. Campbell and Sublette with a small caravan, returning from the Black Hills.”

Campbell and the land party crossed the Missouri at, or near Bellevue, and came down the left bank to Joseph Robidoux’s Blacksnake Hills post (St. Joseph, Mo. now); and continued on to St. Louis where they arrived July 15.


[¶] In the spring (?) Joseph V. Hamilton became sutler at Fort Leavenworth. He replaced Alexander G. Morgan; and continued to hold the position till 1839.

(In an 1839 letter Col. S. W. Kearny—commandant at Fort Leavenworth—stated that Hamilton had by then been sutler [and “a very bad one” in his opinion] for four years; that in May, 1839, the “Council at this Post” had re-nominated him; that he [Kearny] had objected; and subsequently he had found it necessary to discipline Maj. Clifton Wharton and the two other council officers when they persisted in choosing Hamilton. On his own behalf, Joseph V. Hamilton then went to Washington, saw the secretary of war, failed to get the sutler’s post; received, instead, appointment as an Indian agent.)

Ref: *The Trail Guide* (publication of the Kansas City Post, The Westerners), Kansas City, Mo., v. 1, No. 9 (July, 1950), pp. 18, 19 (for Kearny’s letter). Though the relationship, if any, has not been determined, it is noteworthy that the post adjutant at Fort Leavenworth in early 1835 was Lt. James W. Hamilton.

[¶] May 9-10.—The Rev. Samuel Parker, of New York, left his temporary abode at Liberty, Mo., and rode to Fort Leavenworth where he was a guest at “Lieut. S’s” [probably Lt. Enoch Steen’s] home. On Sunday, the 10th, he preached three times “and most of the people of the garrison assembled.”

(Parker, and Dr. Marcus Whitman, employed by the American Board of Comm’s for Foreign Missions to determine the missionary needs in the
“Oregon country,” had been at Liberty since mid-April, awaiting the arrival of the American Fur Company’s westbound caravan.

Ref: Parker, op. cit., pp. 31, 32. (The first edition of Parker’s Journal was published in 1838.)

May 14.—Leaving Liberty, Mo., the American Fur Company caravan (headed by Lucien Fontenelle) moved northward—up the Missouri’s left bank—en route to Bellevue (Neb.), from which place they would follow up the Platte towards the Rocky mountains, and the rendezvous on the Green river (Wyo.). With this party were the Rev. Samuel Parker, Dr. Marcus Whitman (see preceding entry), and, as far as Bellevue, the Rev. Moses Merrill, missionary to the Otoes.

On the 18th this party arrived at Joseph Robidoux’s Blacksnake Hills trading post [St. Joseph, Mo.]; and on May 30, crossed the Missouri to Bellevue, where the missionaries remained till June 22. Cholera broke out among the mountain men on June 10—many, including Fontenelle, were stricken. Doctor Whitman’s efforts helped save most of them, but at least three died.

The caravan which set out on June 21 (between 50 and 60 men, six wagons, three yoke of oxen, and nearly 200 horses and mules—each man a horse to ride, and a horse and a mule to pack) arrived at Fort Laramie (Wyo.) on July 26. There, Thomas Fitzpatrick took charge and got the party to the rendezvous on August 12 (some five weeks later). At Green river it was arranged that Samuel Parker should continue west to examine the Oregon country (he reached Fort Walla Walla on October 6); while Marcus Whitman was to return East to gather a missionary party for a station among the Indians of the Far West. (See October 26 annals entry.)

Ref: Marcus Whitman’s “Journal and Report,” loc. cit., pp. 239-250; Parker, op. cit., pp. 33-86; A. B. Hubert’s Marcus Whitman, Crusader . . . (1838), pt. 1, pp. 89-133 (Marcus Parker’s journal), pp. 146-165 (Marcus Whitman’s journal—varying slightly from the one noted above); Bernard De Voto’s Across the Wide Missouri (Boston, 1947), pp. 218-235. A statement by William Clark (in “Letters Received” by the Office of Indian Affairs, letter of April 28, 1835—microfilm from the National Archives), notes the issuance of a trading license to Fontenelle, Fitzpatrick & Co. on April 21, 1835.

The annual spring caravan to Santa Fe rendezvoused “west of Independence”—presumably in May. According to Josiah Gregg’s compilation (in 1844) a total of about 140 men (40 of them proprietors) and some 75 wagons took merchandise estimated at $140,000 to the southwest during 1835.


May 27.—Capt. David Hunter and Company D, (First) U. S. dragoons left Fort Leavenworth on a summer patrol. Sgt. Hugh Evans stated that Hunter’s command was “Dispatched to Fort Gibson to range along the Osage boundary to keep them [the Osages] from committing depredations they are so frequently engaged in.”
From Fort Leavenworth, on May 29, Col. Henry Dodge and three (First) U. S. dragoon companies (a total force of 125), headed northward to the Platte, on the first leg of a circuit tour up that river and its South Fork as far as the Rocky mountains, and then homeward by way of the Arkansas river and Santa Fe trail. John Gantt (ex-army officer; and fur trader since 1831—see p. 183) was guide for the expedition.

Capt. Lemuel Ford, Capt. Matthew Duncan, and Lt. Lancaster P. Lupton commanded the dragoon companies (G, C, and A). Lt. Gaines P. Kingsbury was acting adjutant and journalist, Lt. Burdett A. Terrett (A. A. Q. M.) the commissary officer, Lt. Enoch Steen in charge of ordnance, and Asst. Surg. Benjamin F. Fellowes the medical officer. Agent John Dougherty was along as far as the Grand Pawnee village; and Mr. Winter’s trading party (which included “Big Fallon”) traveled in company beyond the forks of the Platte (losing one man—drowned in the “Grand Nemaha”—en route). Four Delawares were in the party, principally as hunters. The cavalcade included pack mules, 25 beef cattle, two small wheel-mounted swivels, and (part of the way) two flour-laden ox wagons. Captain Duncan’s small wagon made the entire journey.

Crossing Wolf river (present Doniphan county) on June 1, and the “Grand Nemahaw” on the 3d, the dragoons arrived June 10 at the Otoe-Missouri village, on the Platte. Dodge held council with these Indians on the 11th; and with the Omaha (at the same camp) on the 17th. Next day the march up the Platte was resumed; and on the 21st the expedition camped near the Grand Pawnees’ village. There, on the 23d, Dodge met assembled delegates of the Pawnee bands for a talk; then marched again upriver, on the 24th.

The dragoons passed the forks of the Platte on July 4, and camped some 20 miles up the South Fork. On the 5th chiefs and head men of the “savage and treacherous” Arikaras came to Dodge’s camp for a council. (John Gantt had persuaded these Indians that the troops were not on a punitive expedition). They were sternly advised to change their ways. The march upriver continued on the 6th. Near the base of the Rockies, on July 24, the dragoons left the South Fork and turned southward towards the waters of the upper Arkansas, stopping for the night of the 26th “opposite” Pikes Peak, and making their first camp on the Arkansas river, July 30th.

They passed John Gantt’s abandoned trading post (Fort Cass) on August 1. Five days later, and some 60 miles down the Arkansas, they came to “Messrs. Bent and St. Vrain’s trading establishment”—the recently-built “Bent’s Fort” (Fort William)—and made camp a mile below it.

On August 11 Colonel Dodge met assembled Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Gros Ventres of the Prairie (also a few Blackfeet and Pawnees) in council.

(See August 12 entry for the dragoons’ homeward journey.)
The American Fur Company's steamboat *Diana*, which left St. Louis on May 20 to ascend the Missouri, passed along the "Kansas" shore around the end of May; and, again, on the downward journey, in the fore part of July.

The *Diana* was scheduled to go to Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone river; but despite a fine stage of water, she apparently went no higher than Fort Pierre (Pierre, S. D.) according to Kenneth McKenzie (of Fort Union), who later wrote: "... there was no person on board to direct the self-willed Captain & no one at Fort Pierre to enforce his proceeding to this place. ..." However, the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* of July 16, reporting the *Diana*’s return, stated she arrived "from the mouth of the Little Missouri" (much higher than Fort Pierre). Two, out of 30 persons stricken by cholera while aboard, had died.


In a letter of June 16 the Rev. Thomas Johnson wrote of a recent visit to the Kansa Indians:

I found but few of them at home. The most of the tribe had started to hunt buffalo two days before we reached the villages. These Indians live on the Kansas river ... and have their villages on both sides ..., but a part of the nation have removed 40 miles higher up the river, for the purpose of getting near the buffalo. I never before saw any part of the human family in so wretched a condition. They live chiefly in dirt houses. They cultivate only a small portion of ground, and this done chiefly by the women, with hoes. They do not plough. They have no fences. Their only dependence for meat is on the chase, and the deer have entirely disappeared from their prairies. They have to go 250 miles, or farther, to find the buffalo, and then are frequently driven back by their enemies; and should they succeed in finding the buffalo, if they bring any of the meat home, it frequently has to be packed by their women, for many of them have no horses to ride; and their means of support are becoming more difficult every year, for the buffalo, like the deer, are fast retreating.


July 2.—Conducted by William Gordon, a delegation of 38 Potawatomies from Lake Michigan—en route to examine the lands (in
southwestern "Iowa") assigned to them under the treaty of Chicago, 1833—passed through Westport, Mo., and took the route through "eastern Kansas" to Fort Leavenworth and its vicinity (where several hundred Pottawatomies—immigrants of 1833 and 1834—were living). Chief Alexander Robinson was a member of the party.

Congress, on March 3, had appropriated $9,453 to defray the expenses of this tour. It may have been the end of July before the delegation reached, and began exploring, the reserve in "Iowa." (Gordon's journal of the expedition covers only the dates July 30 to September 12.) Upon returning to Chicago, in the early autumn, the delegation reported the country unsuitable, being scarce in timber, and more remote than anticipated (with hostile Sioux near by).


C July 2-4.—Late on the 2nd, the Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, of Scotland, arrived at Fort Leavenworth, accompanied by his Scotch servant, and a "young gentleman from Germany" named Vernunft. Murray's objectives: to make "a tour . . . [to acquaint himself with] the manners and habits of the extreme West, and of the tribes beyond the American settlements"—as stated in his subsequently-published Travels in North America—first edition, London, 1839.

This trio had left St. Louis late in June; traveled upriver on the John Hancock; outfitted at Liberty, Mo.; and started west, on horseback, with pack animals early on July 2—crossing the Missouri in the evening. At the fort, "Lieutenant C. . . ." [Lt. George H. Crosman, of the Sixth infantry, probably], who was in charge of the small summer garrison, gave them a hospitable reception. (See May 27 and 29 entries for dispersal of the post's dragoons.)

The Fourth of July was celebrated with a 24-gun salute; followed by a festive dinner (with Madeira and champagne). While the officers and their guests were still at table, Agent John Dougherty arrived from the Platte with 150 Pawnee chiefs and warriors. A dozen or so leading men joined the party, by invitation. Outside, around numerous campfires, the rest of the Indians roasted "on rough sticks huge fragments of a newly-killed ox." (See, also, July 7 entry.)

Ref: Murray, op. cit., v. 1, pp. 237-233. Lt. P. St. G. Cooke—the only dragoon officer who could be identified with "Lieutenant C. . . ." was in the East; also, Murray, later, in his book (v. 2, p. 91) seems to indicate that the lieutenant was regularly stationed at Jefferson Barracks, where the garrison was composed of Sixth infantry troops. See Otis E. Young's The West of Philip St. George Cooke . . . (Glendale, Calif., 1955) for Cooke.

C July 4-18.—The Rev. Charles Felix Van Quickenborne arrived at the Kickapoo settlements (above Fort Leavenworth) on the 4th; said Mass on Sunday (the 5th) at the house of Laurence Pensineau,
American Fur Company trader; remained among the Kickapoos, apparently, till July 13 or 14; received assurances that Catholic missionaries would be welcomed by the chiefs and head men; and was, from July 15-18(?), a visitor at the mouth of the Kansas, before returning to St. Louis.

(Father Van Quickenborne had left St. Louis on June 20 on a steamboat; reached Independence 10 days later; and subsequently had spent a few days as guest of “a gentleman of the American Fur Company” [presumably Francis G. Chouteau] at his residence near the junction of the Kansas with the Missouri; then traveled by way of Grinter’s ferry and the Fort Leavenworth road to the Kickapoo reserve.)


Jul 7.—The Hon. Charles A. Murray and party of three (his servant; the young German, Vernunft; and a teen-age hired hand, John Hardy), departed from Fort Leavenworth with 150 Pawnees (see preceding entry), bound for the upper Republican river, to join the main body of Indians (then moving down from the Platte) and accompany them on the summer buffalo hunt. Murray’s particular “host” was the aging “Sa-ni-tsa-rih” (Sharitarish), former head chief of the Grand Pawnees. (A French-Pawnee “interpreter—Louis La Chapelle—with these Indians, spoke no English.)

Traveling west-northwest, they crossed the “Great Nimahaw” on July 13; reached the Little Blue and traveled up its bank for some time; fordcd it, and moved west-southwest to strike the Republican; followed up that river some six days. Two weeks after leaving the fort, they joined the huge Pawnee camp (600 buffalo-skin lodges; some 5,000 persons, and several thousand horses). Missionary John Dunbar was with the Indians. (Murray described him as taciturn, indolent, and phlegmatic.)

Continuing their journey, the Pawnees (after crossing the Republican—probably near its forks, north of present Phillips county) traversed (apparently on a southwest course) a “barren and desolate prairie” where the prairie dog and the owl abounded (in the region of the stream now called Prairie Dog creek), and entered the buffalo country. On July 22 the Indians killed some 80 animals. They continued to hunt and to move camp from time to time. On July 30 Murray noted: “We must hereafter make a southeastern march in order to avail ourselves of the sources of the Saline River and other streams falling into the Kanzas . . . .” By August 3 they were in an area which, by description (”gigantic columns of some mighty though ruined porico” 60 to 70 feet high; huge broken pillars; a region of fast-eroding cliffs, and of ravines 30 to 50 feet deep and as wide) seems to place them at Monument Rocks(?), present Gove county. The Indians made a “grand chasse” (a great surround of buffalo) on August 5. Next day they moved camp a few miles south, where, wrote Murray (who had a telescope), it was possible to see “the distant fringe of timber marking the Upper Arkansas.”

Weary of life with the Pawnees, Murray and his three companions made a start for “home,” on August 8. On the 9th Vernunft was thrown from his
horse and trampled; and the quartet had to return to the Indian camp. But, on August 11, accompanied by two Pawnee guides, they made a second start. (Vermunf traveled with his injured arm in a sling; and on a different horse.)

They set a northea course. Traveling on barren ridges, on the 14th, they saw below them a stream the Pawnee guides called "Snake River" (apparently the Saline). After descending the declivity to the water (which was extremely salty), Murray wrote: "I never should have believed it possible that so many rattlesnakes could have assembled together as I saw in that ravine. I think there must have been nearly enough to fatten a drove of Missouri hogs." This same day the two Pawnees left them. Murray (resolute and competent in every crisis) took over as guide. He had a compass, and it was his aim to move northeast—and return to the Republican. He located a buffalo trace which led them out of the cul-de-sac of "Snake" river gorge, and northward.

By August 18 they had come to a large stream bearing east-northeast which they followed about 14 miles. Then they struck an Indian trail; followed it northward; found a merging trail; entered an area of more vegetation; traversed a swampy and marshy region (in present southeast Jewell county); and on August 21 or 22 arrived at the "Kanzas" (Republican fork).

In descending to the river they came to a spot commanding a beautiful view of the Republican's course, where, wrote Murray, there had evidently once been a permanent Indian village (the Republican Pawnee town known as the Pike-Pawnee village, in Republic county of today). He also noted that on the journey west (in July), the Pawnees had shown him a site "about fifty miles west of the spot where we now were" where they had once lived (i.e., the Webster co., Neb., site). [For more on these locations, see KHQ, v. 27 (Winter, 1961), p. 541.]

After crossing the Republican, Murray led his companions north, in order to strike the trail made on the outward journey. On August 25 they found the sought-for trace and proceeded joyfully eastward on it. After 10 days of following the July-made path, they arrived at Fort Leavenworth on September 3.

Capt. David Hunter (commanding officer) was Murray's host for several days. About September 9, having disposed of his outfit and horses, the Scotsman boarded a steamboat (of the American Fur Company—see April 18 entry), and reached St. Louis September 12.


Chouteau's [Catholic] Church at the mouth of the Kansas river (approximately at the south line of Eleventh street, at the intersection with Pennsylvania avenue, present Kansas City, Mo.) apparently was built in the late spring, and first used in July.

This log structure (20' x 50' with presbytery) was erected on land which the Rev. Benedict Roux (see p. 348) had obtained before his departure in late April, and with money chiefly supplied by the Chouteaus. (The contract had been let before Roux left.)

In "Chouteau's Church," on July 15, the Rev. Charles F. Van Quickenborne (see July 4 entry) baptized Louis Lessert (son of Clement and Julia [Roy] Lessert); and on the 18th, he baptized Cyprian Ferrer (son of Cyprian and Louise [Valle] Ferrer).
(About November, 1839, "Chouteau's Church" was first called the church of "St. Francis Regis"—and under that name it appeared in Catholic records thereafter.)

Ref: G. J. Garraghan's Catholic Beginnings, facing p. 80, 90; also, his The Jesuits of the Middle United States, v. 1, pp. 258-261. (In Garraghan the name is "Terien," but in other records it is "Terrier," or "Farrier.")

Two French tourists—Louis Richard Cortambert, and a younger man "Laurent"—arrived at Independence, Mo., by steamboat, around midyear. (They had already traveled for several weeks through Eastern United States.) With a notion to camp on a Missouri river bluff in the Indian country, they hired a wagon and driver, and took the road to Fort Leavenworth. After crossing the Kansas at "Ferry-town, petit village d'Indiens" (the Delaware, or Grinter, ferry), they met a government agent (Cummins?) whose warnings of dangers and difficulties caused them to reconsider, and to return to Missouri.

Several days later, on foot, the two again set out from Independence—heading southward. At Harmony Mission they were delighted to find a small inn run by a Frenchman. Determined to spend some time far from all habitation, Cortambert and "Laurent" obtained a horse and journeyed as far as the bank of the Marmonot river, where, in an area rich in coal and other minerals, they built a shelter and resided for about three weeks. (Their camp was probably west of Missouri, in present Bourbon county.) Near the end of August, both men fell ill of the prevalent "fever and ague"; were eventually rescued by Missourians; and spent a long period of recuperation at Harmony, at the Frenchman's inn.

In December Cortambert, his health recovered, began a journey to Fort Gibson. En route he visited the Chouteau's trading post in the Osage village of "Manrinhabato" (on the Neosho's west bank, over four miles west and north of present St. Paul, Neosho co.), where he gathered information about the Osages, and met two of the Indians (a man and a woman) who had gone to France in 1827 (see p. 36). Continuing down the Neosho, Cortambert stopped at Auguste P. Chouteau's Saline trading post (in the Cherokee country) around Christmas-time; and probably reached Fort Gibson (in the Creek country) before year's end. (Later, he left for France from the port of New Orleans.)

Louis R. Cortambert's *Voyage au Pays des Osages*, . . . (the book which described his travels in America) was published at Paris in 1837. Of particular interest is his listing of the six principal Osage settlements—four in "Kansas" (all in present Neosho county), and two in "Oklahoma." The Neosho river towns: (1) "Manrinhabato" (or "celui qui touche au ciel"); (2) two leagues below, and also on the right bank, the town usually known as White Hair's ("les Cheveux blanches"); (3) above Manrinhabato, a town known as the Peaceful Heart ("Coeur tranquille"); (4) and still higher, the village of the Little Osages. On the Verdigris ("Vert-de-gris") river, to the southwest were two Osage bands: the Big Hill ("Grosse Côte") to the north, and Clermont's large settlement ("la Chénière") to the south.

In mid-July it was reported at St. Louis, that 10 persons had died of cholera at "Fontenelle's post" (the American Fur Company post), about a mile from Bellevue [Neb.].

When Dr. Marcus Whitman subsequently spent a few October days at Bellevue he was told the Omahas had lost 180 of their people, and the Otoes 60, to cholera.

Ref: Nebraska Historical Society Publications, v. 20, p. 63 (for St. Louis Missouri Republican item); The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, v. 28, p. 252 (for Whitman).

DIED: on August 11, at Wea Presbyterian Mission (present Miami county), Kerwin Swift Kerr (aged three months and eight days), son of the Rev. Joseph and Mary Ann Kerr.

(It is probable this child was born at Independence, Mo., for his mother, ill, had spent some time there in the spring of 1835.) He was the Kerrs' second infant son to be buried in "Kansas."

Ref: Joseph Kerr's August, 1835, letter, in Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence (microfilm, KHI).

On August 12 Col. Henry Dodge and his (First) U. S. dragoon command left camp, below Bent's Fort (see May 29 entry), and began the homeward march, down the Arkansas, to Fort Leavenworth. Lt. G. P. Kingsbury's journal states:

"The command . . . was in a most perfect state of health. . . . The horses in fine order. . . . The colonel had seen all the Indians he expected to see, and had established friendly relations with them all; had marched one thousand miles over a beautiful and interesting country, and we started for home with that joyous and self-satisfied feeling . . . of having accomplished the full object of the expedition."

They came to a Cheyenne camp on the 14th (50 miles below Bent’s Fort); then a party of Pawnee Loups and Arickaras arrived; and on the 16th Colonel Dodge held a last council with the Indians of the region. The dragoons marched again on August 17; crossed the "Colorado-Kansas" line on the 18th(?); and reached Chouteau’s Island on the 19th. They came to the Santa Fe trail crossing of the Arkansas (55 miles below Chouteau’s Island) on the 23rd; took the dry route; arrived at rain-swollen Pawnee fork on the 29th; crossed the baggage in a buffalo boat and swam the horses, on the 30th; passed, on the same day "a noted Rock Sandy called Pawney rock where was found a great many of the Rocky Mountain adventurer names engraved" (Capt. Lemuel Ford added his); and camped that night at Walnut creek. They reached the Little Arkansas on September 2; were delayed by rain at Cottonwood crossing till the 7th; and arrived at Council Grove the next evening (". . . a most butiful rich grove of timber near one mile in width the richest groth of timber thickly covered with Peavine where our horses fared sumptously. we found Several Bea trees with fine honey. encamped on the East Side of the timber in the edge of the preurie [prairie]").

Pvt. Samuel Hunt, of Company A, aged 23, died on September 11. He was buried on a high prairie—five miles west of present Burlingame, Osage county, and not far from the stream now called Dragoon creek. A stone with the
inscription "S. Hunt, U. S. D." still marks the grave of the only casualty of the 1835 expedition.

The dragoons passed "Round and Elm groves" on the 15th, then proceeded northwardly to Grinner's (or Delaware) crossing of the Kansas. Using both a flat ferry and a pirogue, the command crossed by early evening, making camp in a lot at Robert Dunlap's (the Delawares' blacksmith), only 22 miles from "home." On September 16 Colonel Dodge and his dragoons returned to Fort Leavenworth, after an absence of three and a half months, and a journey of about 1,645 miles.

Ref: Same as for May 29 entry. Capt. Lemuel Ford's sketch maps (reproduced in Noah Munsey's edition of Ford's diaries) are notable for their showing of "Fort Cast," "Fort William," and "Bent's Fort" on the Upper Arkansas, and in the "Kansas" section of the Santa Fe trail for the designation of present Big Coon creek as "Raccoon cr.;" also for the showing of "Old Kansas lodges" west of Big Coon creek, and of alternate routes from above Big Coon creek to the Cottonwood crossing.

In August Capt. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville (after three years in the West—see p. 194), and a company of trappers, having come down from the Rocky mountains by way of the Platte, crossed "Kansas" (presumably on "Sublette's Trace"—the established route), and arrived at Independence on the 22d, looking like a "procession of tatterdemalion savages. . . ."

Zenas Leonard (who had gone to the mountains in 1831—see pp. 183, 184) was in this party; and, in his later-written narrative, stated that they reached "the Pawnee Village" about July 25(?), traded with the Indians for some corn, and continued to Independence, arriving August 29 [i.e., the 22d].

See, also, May, 1836, annals.


August 24.—The Comanches and the Wichitas signed a peace treaty with the United States, and with representatives of the Cherokees, Muscogees (Western Creeks), Choctaws, Osages, Senecas, and Quapaws, at temporary "Camp Holmes" (about 150 miles southwest of Fort Gibson, and some five miles northeast of present Purcell, Okla.), within the country assigned by the United States to the Western Creeks.

This first treaty (see p. 365) with the western prairie Indians also contained a provision that the "eastern" Indians could hunt and trap as far west as the limits of the United States; and granted to U. S. citizens passage to Santa Fe across the western Indians' country.

(Camp Holmes had been established on June 2 by Maj. R. B. Mason and U. S. dragoons from the Fort Gibson area. Seventh infantry troops joined them in July, as the western Indians gathered, and Comanche hostility was rumored. The Kiowas came, grew tired of waiting, and departed before the council. The U. S. commissioners [Gen. Mathew Arbuckle and Montfort Stokes], accompanied by two Seventh infantry companies and some of the eastern Indian delegates, did not arrive at Camp Holmes till August 19.)
Soon after the treaty, Auguste P. Chouteau established a small fortified post on the Camp Holmes site, and traded with the Comanches, Kiowas, Wichitas, and other western tribes, till his death in 1838.

Ref: Grant Foreman’s Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest (Cleveland, 1926), pp. 159-164; also, his Advancing the Frontier . . . (Norman, 1933), p. 232; H. P. Beers’ The Western Military Frontier . . . (Philadelphia, 1905), pp. 113, 114; C. J. Kappler’s Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 435-439; Chronicles of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, v. 18, pp. 281-292 (Dr. Leonard McPhail’s journal, June-August, 1835).

During the late summer the incidence of “fever and ague”—the scourge of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys—apparently was abnormally high in Missouri and “Kansas.”

Scottish traveler Murray, arriving at Fort Leavenworth (from the west) on September 8, wrote: “it was painful to see the number of sunken eyes and ashly cheeks” (Capt. David Hunter’s wife was one of the convalescents); and later remarked “the wan and unhealthy appearance of all the settlers on the banks of the Missouri between the Fort and St. Louis,” stating that on his downriver steamboat journey he had landed perhaps 20 times, and that the “fever and ague” seemed to have struck every family, leaving “haggard and emaciated” men, women, and children.

French traveler Cortambert who spent some three months (September through November) recuperating from the “fever and ague” at Harmony, Mo., stated that very few persons escaped the malarial illness which was then epidemic from the Missouri to the Arkansas.


September 19.—Missionaries John Dunbar and Samuel Allis, Jr., in company with 16 Pawnee Loups and an interpreter, arrived at Fort Leavenworth; and remained five days. (The Indians had made the trip to receive some of their annuities.)

(The party had left the Pawnee Loup village [some 60 miles above the mouth of the Platte’s Loup Fork] on September 12. Only a few days before that, Dunbar and Allis had returned to the village after accompanying Pawnee bands on the summer buffalo hunt in western “Kansas” and southwestern “Nebraska.”)

From Fort Leavenworth the Indians and the missionaries set out for Bellevue (Neb.)—arriving there October 3. They spent two days at the American Fur Company post (a mile distant) where Dr. Marcus Whitman (en route East) was a guest. Then, on October 9, started up the Platte—Dunbar stopping at the Grand Pawnee village and Allis continuing with the Pawnee Loups. (With these bands they spent the winter.)


Ref: Leavenworth Times, September 21, 1925; or, Remsburg “Stork” clippings, in KHi library.
Died: on September 23, at a Wea village near the Marais des Cygnes (in present Miami county), Maquokononga, or Negro Legs, aged about 90(?), principal chief of the Weas.

(He had signed the 1809, 1816, and 1820 treaties made by his nation with the United States, in Indiana. Probably he came to “Kansas” in 1831—see p. 181.)

Ref: Mary Ann (Mrs. Joseph) Kerr’s letter of September 28, 1835, in Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence (microfilm, KHi).

In October the annual fall caravan returning from Santa Fe crossed “Kansas.” At Columbia, Mo., it was reported on the 24th that most of the traders had arrived there after a successful trip and that the returns included $200,000 in specie, 300 mules, some horses, furs, and other items.

Ref: Missouri Intelligencer, Columbia, October 24, 1835; Niles’ Weekly Register, v. 49 (November 21, 1835), p. 189.

October 26-31.—Dr. Marcus Whitman, traveling down the Missouri (from Bellevue [Neb.]) by boat, in company with J. P. Cabanee, stopped, briefly, at Fort Leavenworth on the 26th. (With him were two Nez Perces boys he was taking East.)

Thomas Fitzpatrick and a small mounted party (en route from Bellevue to Missouri) arrived at the fort on the 28th (and remained till the 31st). Apparently the British army captain William Drummond Stewart was with Fitzpatrick on this leg of the journey from the mountains. Warren A. Ferris (a trapper since 1830—see p. 169) was another in the party. On October 31, just before their departure, these travelers witnessed a review of Colonel Dodge’s (First) U. S. dragoon command.

(A company of about 80, headed by Fitzpatrick, had left the Green river [Wyo.] rendezvous on August 27. With these trappers were Dr. Marcus Whitman [see May 14 entry] and Captain Stewart [who had journeyed west in 1833—see p. 324]. The party reached Fort Laramie on September 8; followed down the Platte to near its mouth; arrived at the Council Bluffs and Bellevue area around October 10; and there dispersed, to proceed to Missouri by various routes, and at different times. Whitman, a guest at Bellevue from October 12 to the 20th, then started downriver [as noted above]. Fitzpatrick’s group, on horseback, left Bellevue on October 17 and were 11 days en route to Fort Leavenworth.)


December 2.—A party of 252 Pottawatomies (and Ottawas and Chippewas united with them) from Lake Michigan, under the charge of Capt. John B. F. Russell (Fifth U. S. infantry), arrived in the Little Platte country (across the Missouri from Fort Leaven-
worth, and from the Kickapoo reserve—where 454 Pottawatomies already were residing).

(About 460 other Pottawatomies from this company of emigrants spent the winter of 1835-1836 on Skunk river, in southeastern "Iowa." The intended destination of all these Indians was a reserve in southwestern "Iowa," which had been assigned under the Chicago treaty of September 26, 1833.)

Reluctant to proceed northward to the reserve (influenced by the adverse report of the Pottawatomie exploring delegation—see July 2 entry), the party of 252 Indians remained in the Little Platte country till 1837. Their location was described as "on Todd's Creek about fourteen miles below [and across the Missouri from] the Garrison [Fort Leavenworth] on the road to Liberty." Sub-agent Anthony L. Davis (residing at "Kickapoo Town" several miles above the fort) was given temporary charge of the new arrivals.


December 9.—The second issue of Isaac McCoy's Annual Register of Indian Affairs, bearing a title-page date of January 1, 1836, was published at the Shawnee Baptist Mission. Jotham Meeker printed 1,500 copies of this 91-page, revised edition of the Register (See p. 497 for note on the January, 1835, issue.)

Among the changes, and events, of the year, as reported by McCoy:

(1) New missionaries at Shawnee Methodist Mission were: the Rev. William Ketron and wife, the Rev. David G. Gregory and wife, and Mrs. — Miller.

(2) Captain Patterson, the Delawares' head chief had died; and his successor as principal chief was Nah-ko-min. [Patterson's death occurred prior to July 22, 1835.]

(3) At the Kansa lower village (Fool Chief's) the government had fenced 20 acres of land; plowed 10 acres; and erected a good, hewed-log house for the principal chief (White Plume, apparently, since McCoy listed "Nam-pa-warra or White Feather" as the Kansa "principal chief"). Also, the "smithery" had been removed from the old Kansa Agency (closed in 1834—see p. 365), and relocated "near their lower village."

(4) On the Kickapoo reserve a church (to cost $700), and a saw and grist mill (worth $3,000), were being erected by the government.

Ref: McCoy's Annual Register . . . 1836, pp. 24, 28-31; Meeker's "Diary"; D. C. McMurtrie and A. H. Allen, op. cit., pp. 146, 147; OIA, "Registers of Letters Received," v. 6, lists a letter by William Clark of March 28, 1835, enclosing an R. W. Cummins letter asking for money to enable him to remove the Kansa blacksmith shop, and in the margin is a note: "Apr 9 authorized to remove it"; 24th Cong., 2d Sess., H. Doc. No. 137 (Serial 361), p. 12 (contains a statement that during the year ending September 30, 1836, Michael Rice was paid $3,000 for his services in erecting a saw and grist mill for the Kickapoos), and p. 29 (during the same period, J. Milburn was paid $700 "for [erecting] church for Kickapoo"). In "Letters Received" by the Office of Indian Affairs (microfilm from the National Archives), is a July 22, 1835, letter listing Nah-ko-min as head chief of the Delawares.

December 24.—A memorial was placed before the U. S. senate from the citizens of Clay county, Mo., asking for (1) protection
from Indians, and (2) the establishment of a line of frontier posts from the upper Mississippi to Red River in the south, linked by a military road to be patrolled by U. S. dragoons.

The memorial (signed by John Thornton, chairman, and Edward M. Samuel, secretary) was an endorsement of Indian Agent John Dougherty's plan for protection of the frontier—a plan proposed by him in a letter of December 16, 1834.

See, also, July 2, 1836, entry.


1 December 29.—The Cherokee Indians, in a treaty with the United States made at New Echota, Ga., relinquished claim to all lands east of the Mississippi and agreed to remove, within two years, to the 7,000,000-acre reservation west of Arkansas territory and Missouri guaranteed to them by the treaty of May 6, 1828 (see p. 39).

However, the 1835 treaty provided an additional reserve of about 800,000 acres at the Cherokees' request (and at a cost to them of $500,000). This tract was the rectangle of land between the Osage reserve and the State of Missouri (see map facing p. 177 for visual reference), in present southeastern Kansas. Its bounds ran from the southeast corner of the Osage reserve northward, 50 miles, to the northeast corner of that reserve, then east 25 miles to the Missouri line, then south for approximately 50 miles, then west 25 miles to the place of beginning. It was unassigned land, except for a few Osage half-breed tracts (granted by the treaty of 1825), to which the government extinguished title before selling the 800,000-acre area to the Cherokees in 1836. The new owners did not occupy this tract, and it came to be known as the Cherokee Neutral Lands.

As one writer has pointed out: “Had the Cherokees contented themselves with . . . [the original] seven million acres they could not have properly been called Kansas emigrants; because their [original] reserve extended only a very short distance [a little over two miles] beyond [north of] the thirty-seventh parallel” [the southern Kansas boundary of today].

Ref: Kappler, op. cit., v. 2, pp. 439-448; KHC, v. 8, pp. 77, 82 (for quote).

(Part Nine Will Appear in the Spring, 1963, Issue.)